A LETTER

TO

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

PRESIDENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

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A LETTER

To THOMAS JEFFERSON, &c.

SIR,

IN addressing you, I am not actuated by any of those motives which have gathered around you such a bevy of hungry expectants, and produced the swarm of *humble* petitions, and letters of *unearned* thanks which you have received from those who had been, and those who hoped to be, rewarded for their assistance in lifting you into office.

I do not belong to that numerous and respectable class of injured citizens, who, without the *imputation* of a single crime, or a single defect, have received the punishment due to incapacity, or the neglect of public duty, or the abuse of public confidence. Nor am I so unhappy as to constitute one of the number of those contemptible beings, who, through the disappointment of unreasonable expectations, have been changed, from your professed friends and supporters, into your avowed and active enemies. My politica tenets are not the ephemera of personal resentment, or personal gratitude—what they now are, such they

ever have been since I could discriminate between the meretricious glare of popular phrenzy, and the sober, but irresistible and immutable radiance of truth.

They originated from mature reflection upon the internal construction of our government, and they have been confirmed by the whole series of events which has characterized its administration. Of course I am your political opponent, and not your personal friend; tho' by no means your personal enemy. I have never seen your person—I have no acquaintance with your character except what I have drawn out of your public conduct. Under your administration, I have neither been deprived of an office, nor disappointed of one, and for the very best of reasons; I have never expected any.

Beyond the reach of those events which rouse the turbulent passions and set them at war with each other; concealed behind the veil of impenetrable obscurity, I can contemplate the world and its great concerns without any other interest than that which arises from the enjoyment of domestic tranquility, and a rational regard to those objects which have a tendency to promote or disturb it. Among these objects I include every thing which affects the happiness of my country, and primarily, its government, as constituting the bond of its integrity. I form my judgment of *men* from their professions and actions, and of the tendency of *measures* by examining the consequences which in similar circumstances have flowed from the same causes. I boast of no skill in prophecy—I pretend not to foretel what *will* be, upon any other ground than that of a calm tho' critical consideration of what *has* been. To do this there is no need of divine revelation. The experience of past ages, handed down to us in the unimpassioned pages of authentic history, furnishes us with *data* sufficient to enable us to

determine in most cases with that rational confidence which results from conviction.

History, except when it records cotemporary events, is an adviser the least apt to err, or to be misunderstood. A writer with the full possession of materials, closeted from the world, and from the annoyance of selfish passions; is beset with the fewest incitements and the strongest dissuasives for misrepresentation: while his narrative comes to its readers in a dress the least of all calculated to arouse suspicion, or to involve the mind in perplexity, or to leave it in unbelief.

Possessed of the knowledge which may be derived from this source, we cease to be surprized or astonished at events which without such knowledge would appear to be aside from the common walks of nature, and not to be accounted for upon those principles of decision by which we are ordinarily controuled.

The history even of our own government, brief as it is, because as a nation, we are yet in the cradle of infancy, may furnish answers to many important enquiries, and account for many events which are peculiar to itself.

I have prefaced this address with these facts and remarks relative to myself—to the motives which urge me and the sources whence I have derived my opinions; because I think, if you judge as you ought, it will be somewhat material to my purpose that you should be assured that I am not under the influence of any degenerous passion or illiberal prejudice.

I will not tax your candor or your generosity so far as to request you to pardon a single fault in my language, my style, or my sentiments. Many faults there may be, but such as they are, knowing whence they proceed, I leave you and the world to gather from them such amusement as they be found calculated to afford.

My language I know is imperfect—my style is my own; and for my sentiments I am indebted to no one but the God of truth and reason, who gave me the last, to search out the first. Though I hold them in common with thousands of my countrymen, among whom there are many I am proud to find included; yet I would by no means denounce any man or set of men, who should think otherwise. I blame no man for holding or expressing, or *acting out* opinions different from my own, merely because they are different. But I must blame and, upon every occasion, to the last moment of my life, conscientiously condemn every one who either from ignorance confounds right and wrong; or, who with the full knowledge of what is *right* continues with interested pertinacity to practise what of course, he must know to be *wrong*. Such men there are, and such men most probably there ever will be. Interest is their leading-star, and duty the rock upon which they are in constant fear of dashing. By them reason is converted into a pander for lust and convenience, and the precepts of morality which the good man respects and obeys, are by them, first discoloured by passing through the ordeal of their prostituted reason, and afterwards held up to the world as butts of ridicule, and harped upon with vindictive complacency as the sanguinary engines of superstitious cruelty. Such men and such conduct should be opposed with vigilance, firmness and perseverance. Every one who loves his country, every one who loves mankind, who loves himself or who fears his God; is bound by a duty as sacred as it is plain, to oppose them in every shape, on every occasion, and by every mean which commutative justice does not forbid.

When I say I am your political opponent, I do not intend by it that I am divided from you by the mean,

selfish and therefore contemptible views of party. The politics of faction affect me no farther than as their consequences compel me to deplore their existence.

I am opposed to you from a belief that your principles and views; and from *full conviction* that your measures, though *perhaps* it is unknown to yourself, are destructive to the good of this country, and indeed of any country on earth. Your system of politics; if you have any, which I very much doubt, is, in my opinion, incompatible with the acknowledged principles of social existence. I carry my view back to the moment when the first drop of blood was shed which forever precluded the possibility of a reconciliation with Great Britain. I compare our situation immediately *before* that period with what it has been *since*. I contemplate the difference, and the causes which have combined to effect it. I find that we were *then* a dependant people. Dependant too on a power jealous of our prosperity, and determined, if possible, to arrest and fix it at a certain level far below the point which the endemial resources and energies of the country, when left to their full operation, would enable her to reach. That had we rested there, we must forever have remained destitute of those benefits which native genius, talents and virtue will produce when they are expanded and invigorated under the influence of freedom, and cherished and solicited by those rewards which seldom fail to accompany them.

That tho' we were not dependant upon another for the *necessaries* of life, and the means of self defence, we were subject to laws imposed upon us without our consent; enacted without a knowledge of our wants, and often with a contemptuous disregard for our rights. That we were controuled in our com-

merce by the avarice of a superior, and taxed in proportion to his rapacity and profusion. That amidst all these humiliations and discouragements we were, moreover, destitute of that proud satisfaction which arises in the heart of every man upon the contemplation of his own national power—self-dependent, and his personal freedom from every restraint except those to which he has voluntarily and rationally submitted. *Since* that period, I contemplate, with astonishment mingled with pride, the improvements which have rewarded us for our toils, our watchings, and the loss of so many valuable lives. At a time while we were yet trembling with the shocks of our revolution, when the whole nation was afloat, without a star to direct them, or a shelter to fly to; our sages assembled, and with collected firmness and cool deliberation digested a plan of government, which, rude and insufficient as it proved, will forever stand as a memorial of their presence of mind and patriotic zeal. Advanced a step farther, I see them again assembled. Taught by fair experiment the inadequacy of this Confederation; recovered in a great degree from the distractions, the alarms, and the anxiety which ever follow in the retinue of war—forgetting for a moment their grief for the loss of kindred and friends—lifted above the reach of passion and prejudice—sacrificing private opinions to the instant importance of unanimity—still remembering the sorrows of their country, and made acquainted with her wants and her wishes—devoting with disinterested patriotism and unargued promptness their wisdom, and relinquishing every selfish consideration for the security and permanent preservation of her interests, they sketched the outlines of a CONSTITUTION. After altering and amending, striking out and adding according as their united wisdom, moulded by the

the result of long and unimpassioned debates, directed; under the persuasion that though in some of its clauses it was liable to objection, it was nevertheless the *best*, which under existing circumstances could be obtained;* and that its defects, if upon experiment any should be found, might be remedied as experience should point them out: this Constitution was agreed to, and submitted for final decision to the several states. By these it underwent a new and minute examination. Jealousy and fear, the former awakended by recent oppression, the latter by self love blended with and stimulating patriotism, added each its motives, and every article and every sentence was made a separate subject for the most rigid scrutiny. It did not escape even the most unsparing severity of *verbal* criticism, and every ambiguous phrase, every indefinite term of expression, was sought for with an anxious vigilance which at the same time evinced their regard for posterity, and their knowledge of mankind. In the first result of this laborious examination it was rejected by three states, and in a fourth, though adopted by a majority of two-thirds in the convention, yet the minority were so pertinacious in their opposition, that by publishing their reasons of dissent, they heated the zeal of party to such a degree as to cause some violent popular commotions. In every state but three, in which the votes were unanimous in its favor, it received more or less opposition. Men of talents and great personal influence, used their utmost efforts to prevent its adoption, and even after it had received the sanction of a majority of the delegates, instead of submitting with that manly condescension which marks the great mind, used every argument in opposition which could affect either the passions or the prejudices of a people already feeling-

* See Dr. Franklin's Speech in the House of Delegates.

ly alive to every thing which threatened to touch their rights.

Although the constitution had been adopted by ten states, and Congress were of course authorized to issue an ordinance for organizing the new government, yet so long as one state persisted in rejecting it, the opposition relaxed nothing of its vigour. This was a time which demanded—imperiously demanded the energies of reason, the force of talents, the candor of truth, the persuasions of eloquence. It was a call of honor as well as of duty—it was discriminating—and to regard or disregard it was decisive of character. It was obeyed by many*. Many who now stand highest on the proud list of American fame† stepped forth at this interesting crisis, and gave, from the urgency of unbought conviction and patriotic solicitude, the weight of their judgment and the irresistable force of their arguments to the support of that admirable system of government. Their exertions were not less distinguishing to their heads than honorable to their hearts.

If they could not force assent, they stript every grace from opposition. The hesitating were convinced—the obstinate were silenced‡. They were opposed with some talents and more petulance. Both were ineffectual—truth was for the one and against the other. She was finally victorious; and our inva-

* See the Federaliſt and ſeveral other valuable papers written on the occaſion—their authors ſo long as memory ſhall hold dear what patriotiſm and talents have achieved, will be bleſſed by every friend to our excellent Conſtitution.

† The Federaliſt was written by Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Madiſon. It is unneceſſary to ſay that the great and good WASHINGTON was an unwearied advocate of the Conſtitution. His perſonal influence, which was as extenſive and powerful as his ſervices had been known and important, was on all occaſions exerted in its favor.

‡ To theſe papers, and to the effects of ſome other eminent characters we are perhaps indeb ted for the final adoption of the Conſtitution.

luable constitution was *voluntarily* acceded to by every State.* It has now been under experiment for more than thirteen years. Some periods within that time have been as trying, and as decisive of national character, of the wisdom or folly, firmness or fickleness of our administrations, as ordinarily happen to a nation not under the agonizing throes of revolutionary labor.

When Washington came to the chair, our nation was in that infantine state which requires all the watchfulness, prudence, and tender management of an experienced and benevolent nurse. He beheld her with the compassion, affection and *hopes* of a Father. He had given her existence—he had watched over her with parental anxiety in the first hours of her struggling infancy—he had *taken off* her swaddling clothes; and now when she began to *walk* in her new *habiliments*, he was to direct her tottering steps on setting out in her journey towards maturity. How delicate the task! How awful the charge!—Scarcely recovered from the wounds she had received in her efforts to unclench from her own vitals the fangs of oppression—totally unaccustomed to the mild sway of a government which was the boldest experiment in politics ever deliberately undertaken; which was the child of that species of reason which is deduced from contrast—not from concurrent experience;

* North Carolina, Rhode-Island and Vermont, did not accede to it till after the organization of the government. North-Carolina, Nov. 27, 1789. Rhode-Island, May 29, 1790. Vermont, Jan. 10, 1791. The Legislature of Rhode-Island, in consistency with the singular policy which they had before pursued, did not at first call a convention to collect the sense of the State upon the proposed Constitution, but submitted it to the consideration of the people. In most of the town-meetings it was rejected—Newport and Providence resolved that they could not take up the subject.—When a convention was at length called, it was adopted by a majority of *two* only.

and of those notions of liberty which, from being imbibed from an opposite extreme, are in danger, from the force of the impulse received, of vibrating towards licenciousness; it required all his discernment to discover, and all his skill to avoid the pit-falls which at every advance threatened to arrest her progress. A single error, either in design or execution at the commencement of our career would, it is more than probable, have thrown us back, under the sneers and insulting triumphs of our enemies, into the wild chaos from which, with so much labour we had just emerged. The government, with all its own inherent weakness, was yet destitute of that strength which is supplied by habit. As it was in its nature an experiment which at once surprised and astonished the world, so in its operation it was then only an experiment to the American people. Still, with the firmness, prudence, and perseverance of our pilot, seconded by his well-chosen coadjutors, we rode clear of the rocks and shoals which surrounded our starting-goal, and launched forth on "the tempestuous sea of liberty" "in the full tide of successful experiment."

At this period, though almost six years after the conclusion of our treaty of peace with G. Britain, and nearly thirteen after the conclusion of our treaty of alliance with France, our commerce, considered as a source of revenue to the nation, was nothing. The powers delegated to Congress by the old confederation were destitute of every requisite for effective legislation. They were obliged to promulgate their resolves in the form of recommendations, to which, as they did not possess the power to give a sanction, they had no means to enforce obedience. We had accordingly no general laws for the protection or regulation of commerce, or for the imposition and collection of duties. The accomplishment of these

objects was left to the discretion of the state legislatures. Each state was guided by its local interest, and in conformity with it, enacted commercial laws, from the impulse of the moment, not upon any permanent principles of regard to the reciprocal advantages of the union. The laws of one state, as might be expected, often clashed with those of others; and on account of the stagnation of business caused by the sudden depreciation of the continental and state-paper money, added to the extravagant duties amounting to a prohibition, imposed about this time by the British parliament upon goods exported to London and the West Indies, which nearly deprived the states of the benefits of the carrying trade, the states were impoverished, and were either unable or unwilling to comply with the requisitions of Congress.

Until some time after the organization of the new government we had no consular establishment with any nation. Even the few channels to which our commerce was restricted were not as now permanent, but changing almost continually. Our merchants had established but few commercial connections abroad, and even these were merely for temporary purposes. Hence on account of the ceaseless fluctuation of markets, the profits and even sale of their cargoes were extremely uncertain; so much so that the final destination of vessels, when they cleared from port, could not be ascertained, and the time and expence of voyages were sometimes double to what they are now when the state of foreign markets through all its successive variations is pretty accurately known.

Our agriculture which ever has been, and must ever continue to be our chief and ultimate dependance, was not attended to with the spirit or skill which now characterize our farmers, or the success which generally rewards their industry. The distrust

of public promises occasioned by the inability of Congress, and of the state-legislatures to support the credit of their paper bills, which by the former were emitted from 1775 to 1781, to the amount of two hundred millions of dollars ; the ruinous consequences to individuals which followed the depreciation ; the system of intrigue and collusion pursued by hosts of stock-jobbers and itinerant traders from one end of the Continent to the other, who were allured by the hope of gain, or forced by their apprehension of a further depreciation and total extinction of the value of paper money, of which many of them possessed an immense quantity ; the scarcity of current specie caused by the introduction and absurd use of foreign luxuries, and by the sums remitted by our merchants to pay off their debts contracted at London where, from the want of national credit, the continental bills were already of no value ; all these evils, which were deeply felt throughout the union, but particularly in New England where floods of paper-money were poured in from the Southern states by their merchants who, from the impulse generated by the circumstances of the times, were induced to make large purchases in Boston and elsewhere, conspired to damp the spirit and did, in fact, almost destroy the industry of the honest labourers.

The nation was moreover still unsettled—it had not completely recovered from the idleness and derangements introduced by the war—our citizens had not yet re-acquired those habits of order and business which they had relinquished for a time at the call of their country. Hence this nurse of commerce and manufactures—this basis of all national greatness and primary support of individual existence must have been overburthened, or far less productive as a source of revenue than it has been since.

It must have been however for some time, the principal support of our government, as the amount of duties on exports and imports was not very considerable. The administration *could* not then as in a great degree it *can* now avoid the odium which has ever been found attached to direct taxation.

In addition to these internal impediments, our government, young and unsetled as it was, had to defend itself against external hostility. In 1790, only one year after its commencement, it became involved in a war with the North Western tribes, which continued till the 3d of Angust 1795, when a peace was concluded. This war, which lasted five years, cost the government about 5,000,000 dollars for its support; and peace was finally *bought* for 20,000 dollars worth of goods in hand, and an engagement to pay annually, 9,500 dollars worth of goods forever. So that at the termination of Mr. Adams' administration, this war with its consequences must have cost at least 6,000,000 dollars. The Western expedition cost something more than a million of dollars, and the Whiskey rebellion cost 80,000. In 1798, our government sent out the Crescent frigate as a tribute to the Dey of Algiers—at that time the expences of our quarrel with that petty tyrant, and the tributes which from time to time the government had paid to obtain or preserve his friendship, amounted to near two millions of dollars. Our preparations for defence against the threatened invasion from France, cost the government several millions of dollars—the exact sum I cannot state as I have not the necessary documents in my possession.

Besides these, the depredations upon our commerce by the English and French, deprived this country of many millions of impost which were so much entirely lost to the treasury. The number of

American claims upon the British alone for spoliations amounted at the ratification of the treaty in 1794 to 698. Out of which, on the 1st of April 1797, only forty two cases had been decided by the high court of Admiralty, and the Lords commissioners of Appeals in prize causes, and of these only 25 were decided in favour of the American claimants.

On the 28th of July 1797, the causes of 57 vessels, referred to Sir William Scott, the king's Advocate General, and to Dr. John Nicholl, the Advocate retained on the part of the United States, had been determined, by those gentlemen, in favour of American claimants, and the sums awarded, amounting to 83,545 dols. 42 cts. were paid.

At the date last above, out of 15 causes in which restitution had been decreed by the board of Commissioners appointed to carry into effect the 7th article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation with Great Britain; the sums awarded for 11 only had been paid, amounting to 54,363 dols. 31 cts. On the first of November the same year, the aggregate amount of what had been received for British spoliations, was only about 250,000 dols. What progress in this business has been since made, is not exactly known. It could not, however, have been very considerable at the close of the Federal administration; since by a letter from the American Commissioners to the Secretary of State, dated the 29th of July, 1797, it appears that, " excepting some few cases of capture under the orders of 1795 for taking vessels loaded with provisions, there was very little prospect of any more being in a state to come before the board, till the term of 18 months, from the commencement of their business, should have expired." The precise amount of the losses sustained from either the British or French spoliations, I do

not know. I speak from memory, and am therefore the less positive. I think the merchants when they made application to Congress for compensation for the losses they had suffered from the French, a claim to which had been relinquished by our government in their treaty with that nation; they stated the amount at 20 millions of dollars, or some such sum. At any rate, these must have been much greater than the losses sustained from the British; as appears on the books of several insurance companies. On the 24th of February, 1798, the New-York Insurance Company had sustained losses from the French to the amount of 209,386 dlls. 30 cts.; while at that time, their losses from the British amounted only to 67,713 62 cts. The whole of their losses up to that period was 521,345 dlls. 80 cts. At Mr. Taylor's Insurance Office in Boston, from Jan. 1st. 1796 to Jan. 1st 1798, the losses by the French were 191,342 dlls.—those by the British 36,638.—Total of their losses 247,905 dlls.

Insurances were made at Mr. Brookes' Office in that town to a much greater amount—the losses were probably in the same proportion.

Towards a compensation for French spoliations, we have not received from that government the value of a cent, and probably never shall. We have indeed made some reprisals, but the amount is comparatively trifling. The duties for ever lost to our government by these captures, amount to some millions of dollars. The duties on the property taken by the British, were all except a small part withheld from the federal administration; though restitution may, and I believe will be finally made. But these are not all—Our merchants sustained losses to a considerable amount from Spanish privateers, and the picaroons of the Barbary powers. At Mr. Taylor's Insurance office alone,

within the space of two years, the losses by these, were 19,925 dollars. To the duties on these ought to be added the duties on millions of property which was not insured. It ought also to be remembered, that during the federal administrations, our government concluded treaties with Great Britain, Spain, Sweden and some other powers; besides sending three Embassies to France. The expences of all these treaties and embassies, must have amounted to several millions of dollars.

By a law of Congress, passed on the 25th of Feb. 1798, a sum not exceeding 25,880 dollars was appropriated for the purpose of defraying the expences of such treaties as the President should deem expedient to hold with the Indians. To the expenditures already enumerated, besides the annual expences of the civil and military lists, amounting to about 850,000 dollars, and the money disposed of on contract, which amounts to 1,200,000 dollars, *communibus annis*, may be added the expences of erecting the government houses in the city of Washington. An item far from inconsiderable.

In spite of all these embarrasments and extraordinary expences, which must have had adequate taxes to meet them, the country, from the commencement of the new government, has continued to prosper without a parallel.

This is not asserted from a determination to make an indiscriminate defence of the former administrations. It is asserted from conviction, and from a conviction resulting from an examination of well-authenticated facts. An enumeration of all these facts would be too tedious, and would require too many additional pages for the size of a pamphlet. They may be easily found by any one whose regard for truth predominates over his attachment to party so far as to

induce him to search for them. To a man whose views are not contracted by an absurd habit of making the elevation or depression of his party the measure of his interest in public affairs, there is a satisfaction so purely intellectual in the discovery of every truth however minute; whether it opposes or agrees with his wishes, that such a man, whose love of truth is sincere, will be amply rewarded in every step of the pursuit, not only for his time and trouble, but for the chagrin which he may feel from the conviction that he has been in the wrong. Let any man read the state papers laid before congress, or the news-papers of that time or the Geographies of the country. These will furnish him with the facts, and if he is a man of an independent mind, he will make the right inference of course; but if he loves himself rather than truth, let him try to evade. If he cannot escape like an honest man, let him even do it like a house-breaker when caught, by the guardians of the night, in an upper story. By one bawling leap, let him clear all his pursuers. To such a man I have only to say, *perge, Fugax! nondumque reveni.* *All* I hope are not such. There are some men who can separate truth from falsehood, and who will receive it when it is offered to them. To such I shall present a few facts, relative to our commerce, leaving them, if they are not convinced by these, to collect the rest for themselves. Here follows an abstract of our commerce from the commencement of the federal government to the year 1798. I *presume* sir, that *you* will not take it amiss; since, upon a recent occasion, you have so clearly evinced your retention of youthful partialities, and, by your own favorite science, have demonstrated to the wide world the extensive and various erudition and the persevering diligence of

your tutors, who were able to make you so well acquainted with the abstruse nature and admirable utility of addition and subtraction.

From the establishment of the Custom Houses in the several states which was at different times in August 1789, to September 30th 1790 the value of the exports from the United States was, 20,415,966 dls.

Exports for the year ending the 30th of Sept. 1791,	18,271,551
Do. for the year ending the 30th of Sept. 1792,	21,005,568
Do. for the year ending the 30th of Sept. 1793;	26,011,788.

I have not the official returns for 1794 and 1795.

Exports for the year ending the 30th of Sept. 1796,	67,064,097
Do for the year ending the 30th of Sept. 1797,	54,000,000
Do for the year ending the 30th of Sept. 1798,	61,327,411 dls.

From the foregoing statement which, as far as it goes, may be relied upon, it appears that the whole increase of our exports from 1789, to 1796 is 48,218,590 dlls. It should be remarked that the first returns, viz. on the 30th of September 1790 included the exports from August 1789—a period of more than thirteen months. So that in order to arrive at the true increase from that time to 1796, a thirteenth part must be subtracted from the whole amount for that year, before the amount itself, is subtracted from the value of the exports for 1796.

The average annual increase for those seven years is 6,839,370 dlls. an increasc unequalled in the whole history of commerce.

The decrease from 1796 to 1797—amounting to 13,064,097 dlls. is partly nominal, owing to a reduc-

tion of prices, and not to any diminution in the number of articles exported. Nearly half of this decrease took place in Pennsylvania, alone. The exports from that state for the year ending Sept. 30th 1796, amounted to 17,513,866 dlls.

For the year ending
the 30th of Sept. 1797, to 11,446,291

Leaving a difference of, 6,067,575 dlls.

This difference is to be attributed to three causes—to the diminution of the flour trade—to the severe winter of 1796-7, which locked up the Delaware for some weeks, and to the yellow fever in the city of Philadelphia in the summer of, 1797.

The increase of the exports of the United States from 1797 to 1798, is 7,327,411 dlls. which exceeds the average annual increase for the first seven years by nearly half a million.

Whoever will take an opportunity to examine the returns for the three following years which complete the term of the federal administration, will probably find that the increase for each year was fully equal to the above average.

Our commerce, sir, at the time of your election was second to none but that of Great Britain.—Our ships visited almost every inhabited region of the globe.—Our trade was courted by every European nation, altho' the balance with almost every one of them was generally in our favour.—Our merchants had enriched themselves, and established a respectable character abroad.—Our agriculture was flourishing—our manufactures already considerable and fast increasing—our population had augmented with a rapidity which astonished the European world—our principal sea-ports were fortified—our militia were organized and disciplined to a degree which militia

will, perhaps, never surpass—we had a navy of fifteen frigates, twelve ships of war, seven brigs, two schooners and seven gallies—our national credit had risen to respectability abroad and at home—our revenue arose from taxes which had become in some degree habitual and were not burthensome—we had three millions of dollars in the treasury—the national debt was in a fair train for final extinction, the several instalments did not become due sooner than our provisional funds would meet them—our frontiers were undisturbed by the Indians, and we were at peace with all the world. These pre-eminent advantages distinguished the lot of the American people. They had been prosperous beyond example—WHY HAD THEY NOT BEEN HAPPY ?

It is, I believe, the general opinion that every free government contains within itself the seeds of party. If by this it is understood, that party-spirit is inherent in the very nature of a free government—that they have, with each other, the relation of cause and effect; the opinion appears to me not well founded. Reasoning *a priori*, that is, from cause to effect, the most despotic tyranny would seem to possess a greater tendency to *engender* party spirit than a republic. In the latter, the functionaries are created by the election of the people, and merit, founded either upon important services, or acknowledged abilities, or both, is always the professed motive for a choice. In the former, offices are bestowed from caprice. There is seldom even a pretence of rewarding merit. The tyrant, in the distribution of his favours, always regards the gratification of his selfish passions. The promotion of the public good must give way to the success of his private views. Offices instead of being made the reward of virtue, are held up as prizes for the most dexterous vice.

This species of political traffic constitutes a part of the very essence of tyranny; but is wholly inconsistent with what have been generally esteemed the most judicious theories of free government. From the same mode of reasoning, it would appear, that where merit is the professed motive for every choice, and the public good the professed object of pursuit, there should be less jealousy—less cause of division in interest or opinion—than where the professed motive and object of every appointment are to be found in the selfish views of a single individual, who considers himself entitled to every sacrifice of the general welfare, which the success of his views may require.

I have made these remarks, not on account of their importance in themselves, but for the purpose of exposing the absurdity of an argument which is frequently brought forward by *reasoning* partizans for the justification of party violence. It has been said by these men, who still have a sufficient regard for decency, to think some justification convenient, that since party-spirit *necessarily* exists in the nature of a free government, it is the duty of each party to watch over its adversary, and to oppose any ambitious views which may be manifested.

That such a duty exists *somewhere*, will not be denied. But, why must the people be divided into parties? Each individual, in his separate capacity, might exercise every talent necessary to the performance of that duty, in a much more perfect degree than in the ranks of Faction.

But, the defenders of party do not stop here.—They assert, that party-spirit, so far from being an impediment to the operations of the political machine, gives life and vigor to all its motions—that it is absolutely necessary to the preservation of freedom, and actually does preserve it, by operating as a whol-

some check upon the general tendency in man to abuse power, and that the evils which it produces are more than counterbalanced by the good.

This opinion, as it is of a practical nature, has been espoused by a great number. It, therefore, deserves some attention. The moment when violent parties are organized, and all parties will become violent, if the object in view is worth contending for, candor and truth will be displaced by equivocation and falshood. Of two conflicting opinions one must be wrong. The moral law knows no medium, nor any compromise between right and wrong. A wrong cause cannot be supported by truth. As well might darkness rest on the sun. That party which finds itself reduced to the alternative of either relinquishing the contest, or of employing dishonest means, will, in the wrath of humbled pride and disappointed ambition, prefer the latter.

The object in view charms their ambition into madness—the road of pursuit is guarded by elves in the shape of the "rights of man," and in the tremor of fear and anticipated triumph, they trample the real rights of man under their feet, and in the face of all moral resistance, rush headlong, upon their prey. Characters, consecrated by the grateful offerings of mankind—characters, wrought by the hands of virtue herself—if they oppose the views of party, must fall sacrifices to its guilty indignation. The dexterous demagogues of faction take advantage of the ignorance and credulity of the people; and when slander, with her hundred tongues, through the mouths of hireling miscreants, has sent forth her thousand lies, these demons of malice skulk behind the curtain, and chuckle at the success of falshood rising from the slaugter of unresisting virtue. Let it not be said, that the majesty of virtue should be able to

stand before the meanness of falsehood. The defect is not in virtue, but in human nature. The people who live under a free government, are apt to be too jealous of their rights. When they are told, and through those channels by which they have been accustomed to expect nothing but truth, that the men in whom they have reposed confidence have betrayed their trust—that they have squandered their money and forged chains for their liberties; their jealousy comes in to aid the deception.

The confidence which they had once reposed may, perhaps, for a time, counteract the insinuating poison, they may be at first surprised at this unexpected disclosure of treachery—they may wonder that they had never before even suspected it from any act or declaration of the accused; but when these accusations have been repeated throughout the country, in every form from a newspaper to an octavo of two volumes, bound and lettered; after they have been made the themes for declamation in every grog-shop, tavern and coffee-house; and when they have been abroad many months without being denied, or if denied, not disproved, or if disproved, their falsehood not *demonstrated*; as it would be somewhat puzzling to the great Locke himself to demonstrate a negative proposition; the people, at length are fairly gulled into a belief of them, and wonder now at their former folly in placing confidence in men who did not deserve it. Their alarm is increased from reflecting even upon their former security. They congratulate themselves upon their miraculous escape from impending perdition, and naturally transfer their favour to those who stile themselves their political saviours. These, in order to be consistent, must be the very reverse of those whom their villainous machinations have displaced. If the latter, in their expenditure of

the public money, have sought the *real* interest of the people rather than the gratification of their avarice—if they have endeavored to secure an equal distribution of justice, and respected the rights and consulted the wants of all classes in the community, instead of gratifying one at the expence of the rest; the newly promoted patriots must make splendid professions of *economy*—of the love of peace and the *harmony of social intercourse*—of an uncommon regard for the miseries of the poor—of a disinterested friendship for *persecuted humanity*—and to finish their catalogue of *promised* virtues, they must open their yearning bosoms to *unhappy fugitives* who have been exposed to imminent danger of losing their invaluable lives by the *tyranny of justice*. Thus the people are cheated by the magic of "sweet sounds," and vice triumphs over virtue by their involuntary aid.

This is not the farce of imagination—it is a faithful portrait of sad reality—the original has been actually seen in this country, and every real patriot will for ever hold the image engraven on his heart in melancholy remembrance.

To this detestable system of deception, you, Sir, owe your election; and in this *alone* are to be found the reasons WHY the people HAD NOT BEEN HAPPY. Happiness is not a child of reason, but a subject of feeling. Feelings, it is true, may be created by a train of reasoning, but they may be excited without its aid. In a question, which involves the consideration of our rights, the jealousy natural to man, and which, when not excessive, is the glorious characteristic of freemen, if our wishes are poised against our fears, will always incline the scale on the side of the latter.* The despicable sycophants of popu-

* The happiness or misery of the people, as of every individual, is merely the state of their feelings. Their feelings vary with their humour, their humour with their fears, and their fears, are subject to alarm from every pretended violation of their rights.

lar favor may chaunt their love songs to the people till sense and reason are soothed to rest ; it will nevertheless remain an eternal truth that the current opinions of the populace constitute no criterion for rational judgments ; and the statesman who regulates his measures by their wishes will, in the end, be oftener loaded with their execrations, than rewarded with their thanks. The reason is obvious. Their judgement is generally the result of a superficial examination. Such a judgment is seldom permament. When it changes ; their favor, of course, changes with it. It changes as often from right to wrong as from wrong to right. If it is right to day, to-morrow, some restless office-hunter pretends to have made some alarming discovery of negligence or treachery ; he invents other plausible falsehoods to sugar over the intended deception and to lull suspicion ; some indigent, mercenary wretch who, as he has no reputation to lose, has nothing to fear from detection ; in expectation of a reward, offers himself as a mouth-piece ; and thus, upon the wings of corruption, the lie goes forth, and is swallowed by the gaping multitude, before truth can warn them of their danger. The popular gale veers to the opposite point, and, driven by the spirit of vengeance, prostrates all honesty and wisdom to the earth, while knavery and folly, from their own buoyancy, ride in triumph on the breath of the storm.

Such is the versatility of popular opinion. Such the credulity of the people. Will any man presume then to assert that the possession of their favour is any certain evidence of merit ? or that their displeasure carries in itself any decisive proof of criminality ? If any one has doubted before, the events which have transpired since your election must convince him, if his conviction can be wrought without a transformation of his mental powers.

I shall appropriate the remainder of these pages to more particular remarks upon your conduct. I intend not to consider it merely in comparison with that of your predecessors. That would make it too much a question of preference, which every one might decide according to his political prepossessions. My wish is to remove the subject of examination as far as possible beyond the line of party contention. Independantly of political considerations, your conduct has presented a subject to our contemplation, infinitely more important than the dishonesty of a chief Magistrate, to the stability of our government, the existence of this nation, the tranquility of society and the future happiness of every individual. In viewing this part of your conduct, I shall make no appeal to your humanity, your patriotism or your piety. The importance of your opinions and principles arises entirely from your situation, and not from their intrinsic value. The sentiments of Thomas Jefferson, the philosophist, are of no more importance to the American people, than the sentiments of Gemmy Cheetham, the political hatter; or of Johnny Thompson, the political barber; or of Quashee Sambo, the political chimney-sweeper; or of Billy Dunn, the political l—e-catcher. But the sentiments of Thomas Jefferson, the Executive Magistrate of the United States, are of incalculaple importance to the people. From the nature of our social system, some must lead and others must follow. Some must employ the energies of mind, others the strength of body. The latter will always yield obedience to the former. Some are placed on an eminence, a spectacle for the world; others in the vale of obscurity where few will observe them. Hence the different degrees of authority in example. From

the tendency in the mind to associate its ideas, we are apt to connect a man's external situation with his person. Of course the veneration due to the one is often transferred to the other. Those whom we venerate we are apt to imitate. And it *ought* to be so. The man who is truly venerable always holds forth an example worthy of imitation. This I would have understood with regard to manners. But this propensity for imitation is evinced no less in morals. Though an independent mind would disdain to copy its sentiments literally or directly from another, yet a man, whose general character we are compelled to reverence, seldom fails to create prepossessions in his favour. Respect for character is commonly, if not always accompanied or soon followed by respect for opinion. From habitual conversation with his person, or a familiar acquaintance with his writings, the opinions of such a man frequently become the subject of our meditation, and, from the bias created in our minds by the respectability of his character, we are apt to view them with partiality. As he generally has the best of reasons to support them, they insinuate themselves into our belief, and by imperceptible degrees are combined with the tenor of our thoughts, till at length they are adopted as our own, and become the rules of our practice. They are communicated from one to another, till they prevail throughout the community.

So much for the force of example. What an example this ought to be which is to be imitated by the great mass of society, every reflecting man will readily perceive. That it ought to be moral, will be granted by every one who thinks with me that, without morality, society could not exist. That it ought to be just and humane will be allowed by every one who loves his fellows. That it ought to be liberal

with regard to disputable subjects, will be maintained by every friend to peace, and by every advocate for the freedom of opinion. That it ought to be dignified and candid, not mean and ambiguous, will be conceded by every one who despises littleness and loves sincerity. That it ought to be honest, every honest man will think indispensible. That it ought to be incorruptible will be maintained by all who detest corruption. That it ought to be firm, where it should be moral; that it ought sometimes to be merciful, in order to be just; that it ought to be generous, where it should be liberal; that it ought to be complaisant, where it should be dignified; that it ought to be frank, where it should be candid; that it ought to be inflexible, where it should be honest; that it ought to be patriotic, where it should be incorruptible; will be granted by every man who wishes to be *thought* a patriot, and practically believed by none who is not truly such.

You, Mr. Jefferson, have been stiled a patriot and an able statesman. You have been exalted above all the worth which ancient times delighted to honour, and to which modern times have consecrated their laurels. Lycurgus and Solon in legislation, Cicero in calm dignity and flowing elegance, Chatham in the pertinence and strength of logic, and the awful grandeur of simile, Addison in charming simplicity, Johnson in grandeur of conception, Fenelon in creative imagination, Homer in the fire of genius and the towering flights of fancy, Virgil in tenderness of sentiment and sweetness of expression, Cowper in chastity of language, Pope in purity and correctness of diction, and conciseness of style; Burke in perspicuity of method, calmness of disputation, candour of argument, depth of penetration and correctness of judgment; Hampden and Sidney in patriotism, Howard in charity, Scipio in *chastity*, Neckar in finance,

Locke in the knowlege of the human mind, Paley in moral, and Bacon and Newton in natural philosophy are all, all excelled, and they must hunt up their scattered dust, long since mingled with its kindred, and run, in any way they can, but with the speed of vanquished rivals, to lay their aged laurels at the great feet of the great Mammoth who boundeth over the great mountains and the great waters which lie towards the setting sun, and who, with the filial gratitude of the great-aged stork, and with the swiftness of the great embattling whirlwind, will, *with the great homage of his sincere respect*, lay them at the feet of our greatly beloved Thomas. O America! my heart leaps like a young roe on the mountains of Gadshelah, at the thoughts of thy renown. Thou shalt be the fairest among the daughters of Mammoths. England! boast no more of thy Newton; nor France! do thou pride thyself in thy Buffon. They were minikins, stuck in the outermost skirts of philosophy. Why, our transcendantly immortal Thomas is a Mammoth to them; yea, even in all things, a Mammoth. A Mammoth in learning, a Mammoth in wisdom, a Mammoth in sense, a Mammoth in *piety*, a-Mam-moth-in-*chastity*:

> And ſtill they gaz'd and ſtill the wonder grew,
> That one ſmall ſoul could groan for half he knew.

Oh! what a falling off was there! my countrymen! These, sir, are bold pretensions, and challenge our scrutiny. Whether you make them yourself, or your supporters, for party purposes, hold them forth for you, their effect is the same. They have gone abroad to the people, and we have, therefore, a right to examine them. Such proud claims to pre-eminence, carry with them an imposing aspect. If they are found to be just, no man shall support them more

cordially than myself. If not, no man shall oppose them more strenuously. Were you a private man, and should make these pretensions to virtue, genius and erudition, from vanity, as many a vain man would, or from an itching to wear, while living, the wreaths of fame with which the grudging world has hitherto decorated only the tombs of departed worth, they should pass here unnoticed. They might, as they do now, excite our contempt, but not our indignation. No man, sir, can misunderstand the purpose for which they have been held forth to the public. The minions of thy sectarian favour, intended to render thee a service, and to recompense thy partial bounty. How far they have accomplished the first object, will, ere long, be determined. That they have entirely succeeded in the last, will be admitted by all who feel for you the contempt to which your conduct has justly entitled you.

I write not for you, Mr. Jefferson! Wherever I have attempted to give information, I have done it for others. I love my family and my friends. Perhaps I love my country. For these I write. I should be chargeable with the most egregious folly were I to address the Executive Magistrate of the United States upon *presumption* of his ignorance. The problem of your knowledge should have been solved by your electors before they ventured to write your name upon their ballots. It is a matter of little moment to the people whether they have been deceived by a blockhead or a knave. Errors of ignorance and frauds of design, though they differ in morals, are the same in politics.

The means by which you ascended the chair of state, would alone, if properly considered, be sufficient to decide your character. Men, who had an opportunity of knowing your real opinions, foretold, previous to your election, a great part of the conduct

which you have pursued since. The people of America have not yet forgotten these warnings from their real friends. When they perceive their predictions fulfilled already in part, and daily fulfilling, their first exclamations will be, from the impulse of nature, "Who could have believed it! such noble sentiments! such correct opinions! such fair promises! such a world of candour! such respect for our rights! such grief for our pretended injuries!" In truth, Sir, to deceive unsuspecting honesty requires no talents beyond the skill of jockeyship. Remove the penalties of law and the restraints of reputation, and calumnies may be heaped upon calumnies, till the fairest virtue shall sink beneath the weight, or be compelled to seek protection in the coverts of vice. There are, in every country, needy, unprincipled men, who, to obtain sustenance, would not scruple to murder the most virtuous characters, and as they lay them at the feet of their benefactor, can look upon themselves with complacency. Such is the corruptibility of human nature, that dishonesty, so long as she has a bribe to give, will never want tools to work with.

I cannot but believe, Sir, that tho' corruption is so frequent in the courts of Europe that it is viewed with less detestation than it deserves; yet if your conduct previous to your election, had been revealed to the people in all its ungarnished deformity, they would have convinced the world that they had still some respect for virtue; and sense enough to know that

——— "He that takes
Deep in his soft credulity the stamp
Design'd by loud declaimers on the part
Of liberty, *themselves the slaves of lust*,
Incurs derision for his easy faith,
And lack of knowledge, and with cause enough;

For when was public virtue to be found
Where private was not? Can he love the whole
Who loves no part? He be a nation's friend
Who is in truth the friend of no man there?
Can he be strenuous in his country's cause
Who slights the charities, for whose dear sake
That country, if at all, must be beloved?"

In spite of your own opinion at the time, I am forced also to believe that, had the people, in wisdom and justice, left you beneath the peaceful shades of Monticello; instead of placing you on the highest eminence in their domain, they would have rendered you, and certainly themselves, the greatest service then in their power. You would thus have been saved, as well as your country, from the disgrace which you have fixed upon your name by your preposterous measures, and time might perhaps have consigned to oblivion the crimes which, though their object was lost, had been so far beneficial as to prevent the details of your infamy from being lengthened out by the addition of your executive vices and follies. In a republic, however, where every thing depends upon the virtue of the people, the crime of corruption, especially if successful, ought not to pass by with the censure which it commonly receives from the subjects of a monarchy. If, in a government like ours, a precedent, so pregnant with danger, in a man who stands candidate for the highest office, is suffered to be recorded for the view of posterity, without being accompanied with the merited detestation of cotemporaries, the people, made more familiar with vice, may wink at its union with impudence, and the hope which is built on the success of others may entice some future Jefferson to buy out their liberties. If any one would, hereafter, undertake what has proved so ruinous to you; let me advise him, from the sincerity of romantic friendship, not to join, as

you have done, the blunders of folly to the stratagems of ambition.

This, Sir, is one difference between virtue and vice. Virtue courts enquiry; for, discovery unveils its beauties—the more it is known, the more it is beloved, and the more certain is its success. Vice, while it dreads detection, as the betrayer of its deformities and the herald of its disgrace, ensures, by the very precautions adopted for its success, the means of its defeat. Such, in the goodness of God, is the constitution of his moral government, *and a disbelief of his Being, or of his Providence, will not exempt Infidels from his jurisdiction.* This, to good men, is a consolation for the temporary triumphs of the bad. Virtue would be deprived of its proudest prerogative, if it were not distinguished from vice, by the fidelity of its friends. Or, in the language of a learned and pious man, "Combinations of wickedness would overwhelm the world by the advantage which licentious principles afford, did not those *who have long practised perfidy, grow faithless to each other.*"

Prudence, Mr. Jefferson, is not always the companion of knavery; and the treachery of your hireling confidants serves to prove that dishonesty renders a man detestable, while imprudence, its common associate, never fails to render him contemptible. Every good man should rejoice in the detection and punishment of guilt; but from respect for the country whose favours you have wickedly purchased with a bribe, it were to be wished that you and your imitators in corruption would hereafter select your instruments with more discretion. As it is, in viewing your conduct and the manner in which it has been disclosed, we are forced to laugh at your folly while we detest your depravity.

A man must be sunk to the lowest degree of insipidity, who, while he raises against himself the murmurs of indignation, will not take the precautions requisite to secure him against the sneers of contempt. You are the first in this country who has set an example of corruption to candidates for the Presidency; and the disgrace which has followed it, will, I hope, deter others from imitating you. The indiscretion, of which you have been guilty in the choice of your tools of deception, is conclusive proof that, to the deliberate and systematic violation of the principles of our government, you have, with an impudence all your own, added defiance to public opinion. The restraints of reputation, to a man who has renounced the obligations of religion, have, sometimes, been sufficient to keep him within the walks of decency. But what pledge can you give us for the discharge of your duty, since you have denied the one and despised the other? That you did, in fact, use corrupt means to obtain your election; that you first deceived a foreigner, ignorant of our history, and then bribed him to wage a diabolical warfare against virtue and honour, disguised by you in the hideous dress of public criminals, is no longer doubtful. —The charge does not rest upon the testimony of your betrayer alone. The persons and documents which have been published, compose a mass of evidence sufficient to establish it in a court of law.

Whether or not venality is a crime, is no question of party-politics. It is a question of moral law; and that man who, without remorse, can either practise it himself, or undertake to justify it in another, I would denounce, upon principles which lie beyond the limits of political controversy, as unworthy of confidence or respect, and upon whose head the laws of society may justly hurl their vengeance, for the insult

which he has offered them. Do you seriously expect, Mr. Jefferson, to screen yourself from the odium attached to that transaction in the sanctuary of *charity*? Do you really despise us so much as to imagine you can conjure our senses asleep? or do you despise yourself so much as to be flattered by your hungry minions into the belief that we are too *swinish* to be capable of feeling indignation at the wanton and premeditated violation of our rights? Though you have basely and wickedly deceived others, I beseech you, for the sake of your manhood, not to deceive *yourself* where blindness would be an injury as well as an insult to those whose favour you wish to preserve as you wished to obtain it, at the expence of every thing sacred to their happiness. If you are deceived by others you may exclaim in a fit of contrition, *sum homo--quercus flectit*; but it will not do. A man in the walks of private life—who makes no pretensions to the knowledge and virtues of a statesman, and has no ambition to govern a nation, may cancel many faults, and palliate even crimes, by the plea of human frailty. But he who claims superiority over his fellows, by holding forth pretensions to the qualifications of a ruler, has no right to expect a trial at the bar of indulgent criticism. He cannot, like the private man, support any claims upon our pity. The influence of his example is too extensive to admit an excuse for the infraction of his duty. Add to these, the circumstances of your own case, that the office was the object of his incessant solicitude; that, to obtain it, he practised corruption—made a sacrifice of his property, though *he was no prodigal*, and of his reputation, though he had no pretensions to martyrdom; that he was so delirious with the ardour of pursuit, and so dazzled at the lustre of his object, that he never looked beyond it, to secure an honorable re-

treat, nor adopted measures to guard him in possession;—that his ambition hurried him on with such rapidity, that, in the fervor of his zeal, he laid hold upon edge-tools, which turned to wound his own bosom;—that, from the stations which he had previously held, he must have been fully acquainted with the whole round of his official duties, and with the responsibility attached to the office; and still he wished, nay, *fought* for them, through the bowels of justice and truth, and upon the tomb, prepared *by his own hands, and at his own expence*, for the most exalted and unalloyed virtue which the sun ever cheered in the breast of a mortal. What claim has *this* man upon the indulgence of his peers? What excuse, what subterfuge will you or your doughty sticklers invent to save you from public detestation? Will you or they have the effrontery to deny these charges, or the wickedness to attempt to justify your conduct? or can you, with evidence or argument, support a denial? If so, let yourself down for a moment, O, spotless magistrate! from your throne of air-built *dignity*, and with the condescension of a gracious *republican*, if you cannot persuade us of your honesty, by the force of truth, at least silence every saucy suspicion with the thunder of your soul-jarring *eloquence*. —If these charges are false and malicious, as many of them are of a personal, and not of an official nature, you have still a remedy at common law, notwithstanding the expiration of the sedition act. If you have any evidence, of any kind, which will serve to invalidate them, it is a duty which you owe to yourself, and to the community, to produce it before the tribunal of the public. This duty should not be dispensed with, for the punctilios of official dignity. If it is in your power, wipe off the disgrace which your conduct has brought upon the go-

vernment, both here and abroad, and remove the cause of suspicion which, unless you *prove* these charges to be false, will be hereafter attached to the candidates for office. If, from the reserve of pride, or the oppression of guilt, you should content yourself with dictating to your organs, general denials, equivocal assertions, and arguments without foundation, you must think yourself fortunate to be suffered to escape into retirement, without any other punishment from the people than a general belief of your criminality. Since the attempts of your partizans have hitherto served only to lay open the depth of their own depravity; until they shall offer something of a more *convincing force*, we shall, with the evidence before us, be warranted in considering the charges against you as well founded. I would, then, ask every *conscientious* man, in what way he would undertake to reconcile a continuance of his support of you with the fulfilment of his duty, either as a citizen, a man, or a christian. What part of your conduct, either before or since your election, can be adduced to weigh in the balance against the complicated evils which may result from your pernicious examples? If you had rendered any extraordinary services to the country—if, by your administration, you had made the people more happy—if, as you promised to do, you had relieved the poor from their burthens, or added one nerve to the arm of justice, we might accept it as a partial atonement for your crimes, and leave the punishment due for them to that JUDGE who makes repentance the measure of his pardon. Since you had used such wicked means to attain your power, if you had had any regard to the credit of the government, the glory of the nation, the happiness of the people or to your own character, you would have studied to continue to us the blessings

which we had previously enjoyed and which you yourself have acknowledged to be such ; or you would at least have recommended measures which in their effect might serve to compensate the nation for the injuries you would have heaped upon it, when you contributed the authority of your example to encourage those whose ambitious designs or mischievous disposition might prompt them to undertake to transfer the confidence of the people from fidelity and talents to dishonesty and weakness.

But what have we gained, or rather what have we not lost by a change of administration? After having opposed the adoption of our constitution, and since its adoption, strove with persevering diligence and clandestine fraud to obstruct its operation by bringing into disrepute the laws which were enacted by its friends, after having first bribed a man to become a villain and then dictated for his pen, calumnies against the most irreproachable and the most venerable characters which our revolution had brought to view, and to whose worth, years of perilious peace had subscribed their testimony—after having at various times given bribes to editors of news-papers to sing "*lullaby*," while you was administering soporific drugs to the sick populace—after having yourself established and at your own expence, supported another paper which was *entirely* devoted to your views, and indeed spoke the very lies of your own heart, which, with a most thrilling sweetness, would chant, "Hush, *my dear!* lie still and slumber," while I, a "holy angel guard your bed ;" and which laboured, with unhallowed hands, to rend the veil which protected worth from the pilfering snatches of envy and malice—after having polluted the consecrated ashes of Washington with the tears of a crocodile—after having offered yourself as a candidat

for the presidency, with this load of crimes upon your shoulders together with many others of a private and *black* nature, and, by the same crimes, *procured* your election;—after having persuaded the American people, by the most detestable falsehoods and the most degrading hypocrisy, to cast off their long-tried friends and to take you to their bosoms; in what way was you to recompence us for the discontents which you had fomented, and the sacrifices we had made, in anticipation of your promised services? For all these guilty struggles for power—this malicious warfare against all the virtues, what is your plea? Silence, ye clamorous rocks, the MAN OF THE PEOPLE openeth his mouth. Ye complaining ghosts and snivelling Dryads, silence and attend; for if, peradventure, he should but *only* gape, you shall hear his justification—the motives which swayed his *generous* heart.

FELLOW CITIZENS!

This day crowns my hopes. The honour of being elected your Chief Magistrate by a majority of your voluntary and *independent* suffrages has ever been the acme of my ambition. Think not, however, that I have been actuated by selfish views. The good of my country has been the moving principle of my conduct. Nothing but a *sincere* and *disinterested* wish o promote your happiness, could have induced me to eave the *lovely* vales of retirement and to undertake he arduous task which you have *thought proper* to ssign me. Long have I watched, with the most eart-rending emotions, the steps of our infant goernment. The excellent constitution which was ramed and adopted by the wisdom of your repreentatives, I thought would preserve the freedom which *our* arms had obtained and which was sealed with the blood of *our brethren*. I saw, with a plea-

sure which none but *patriots* can feel, that your first officers were chosen from among those who had distinguished themselves by their valour and their fidelity during our revolutionary struggle. At the head of these, stood our Washington. Often have I been astonished at his dispassionate and persevering courage—often have I venerated his piety—admired his wisdom—and esteemed him for his public and domestic virtues. He rests with his brothers who had gone before him. You all wept at his death. *I wept also; most bitterly did I weep.* Ah! the good man. *How often have I shared thy danger! how often have we fought the battles of our country, side by side.* Yes, fellow-citizens! at his death, I wept *aloud.* "On such an occasion it was manly to weep." I fain would weep even *now* to *think* how I wept *then.* But peace to his manes! *let us not disturb them!* his successor endeavored to imitate his example, but was less prudent or less fortunate in his measures. The dangers which surrounded us during his administration, gave rise to enormous taxes.—You, my fellow-citizens! have been burthened beyond your ability. It shall be my study to *lessen* your taxes. The poor amongst you, O! how my heart melts to think of their oppressions. But, amiable, injured souls! their sufferings are now at an end, for I will relieve them. The mouth of labour shall no longer be muzzled. The policy of Mr. Adams, which led him to fill the vacant offices with men of his own political sentiments, had a tendency to nourish and inflame the spirit of faction, which every good man should strive to suppress. The peace of families was interrupted—the tranquillity of neighbourhoods was disturbed—cordial friends were changed into sullen and slanderous enemies. Be it my endeavour, as it is my desire, to *restore* to social inter-

course that harmony and affection, without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things.—I will study to render equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political. I will guard, with a jealous care, the right of election by the people—I will endeavour to observe economy in the public expence, that labour may be lightly burdened. These, fellow-citizens! are some of the motives from which I accept of your proffered honor. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, *which will never be intentional;* and your support against the errors of others, *who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts.* The approbation implied by your suffrage, is a great consolation to me, for the past; and my future solicitude will be, to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, *to conciliate that of others, by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.*"

Here is a host of fair promises, *set in terrible array.* Our taxes were to be lessened—the poor to be relieved from their oppressions—political intolerance was to be done away—party-animosity to disappear—harmony and affection to be restored to social intercourse—equal and exact justice was to be rendered to *all* men—the right of election by the people to be guarded with a jealous care—economy to be observed in the public expence, that labour might be lightly burdened. But, where is the *fulfilment* of these promises? "Avast there! not so loud. You must not accuse Mr. Jefferson of intending to deceive the people. He never *promised* to *fulfil* his promises. The people have deceived themselves. What right had they to *expect* a fulfilment of them, when it was never promised? Is it come to this, then! Cannot a gentleman manufacture promises for his own amuse-

ment or convenience, but the people must be after fingering with them?" There spoke a disciple of Thomas Jefferson. Such am not I. Such, I must believe, are not the people of the United States. With them, I still hope, promises are binding. When you made those promises, at the moment when you was acknowledging their favour with the warmest expressions of gratitude, when you was already cloathed with all the majesty of power, and *bowed down* under the weight of their affection—when the solemnity of your oath, scarcely repeated, should yet have glowed in your heart, and excluded every propensity towards a wilful deception, or an unmeaning play upon words; at that moment, the people could not suspect you of insincerity. In the honesty of their hearts, they expected you would fulfil them. All parties entered into a determination not to pre-judge, but to allow you a fair opportunity for trial. They laid aside, for a time, their party-animosity, and resolved to wait, with submissive reverence, for the accomplishment of your promises and their wishes. Such an opportunity you have had. What use you have made of it, is well known. The people have been disappointed and mortified. You have deceived their hopes, disregarded their wishes, belied their judgment, abused their confidence, defied their vengeance, trampled on their rights, trifled with their power, and disgraced their executive magistrate. You stand convicted of folly and criminality, by the evidence of your public measures; and condemned by the words of your own mouth—upon the very "*principles*" which you once declared "should be the creed of our political faith—the text of civic instruction—*the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust.*"* You commenced your career of inconsist-

* Inaugural speech.

encies by practising the very species of intolerance which you had just condemned.

In the full gratification of your wicked ambition, made wicked by the means you used to gratify it and the motives by which you was swayed; under a most *tremendous* impulse of gratitude, which was augmented by your consciousness of not deserving the favor bestowed upon you—emboldened by a decision of the public opinion in your favour, and softened into something *like* a generous sentiment by the confidence implicitly reposed in you; you advance a step beyond the limits of your narrow-minded prejudices; and, in evil hour, let slip this conciliating exhortation. "Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart, and one mind; let us restore to social intercourse, that harmony and affection, without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that having banished from our land, that religious intolerance, under which mankind so long bled and suffered, *we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance,* AS DESPOTIC, AS WICKED, AND CAPABLE OF AS BITTER AND BLOODY PERSECUTIONS." What can be more liberal or noble! Why, you absolutely made "an essay towards a statement" of magnanimity! What, bury all resentments, all hatred, all envy, all malice, and "unite with one heart and one mind" in the sweet bonds of *social harmony!* What a generous soul! how elevated! far, far above the fogs of earthly prejudice, and sublimely disdaining the ignoble shackles of human partialities. O! how I boil over with envy, to think that such fellows as Tom Paine, that abominable wretch—that dog in a manger, who will neither be good himself nor let others be so, and James Cheetham and Billy Dunn, should possess the friendship and confidence of a man of such a *companionable*

temper and such a benevolent heart. As much, sir, as I admire your inaugural speech, still knowing the frailty of human nature, I must, from regard to the next generation, advise the parents and guardians of daughters and wards, but particularly of old-maids to keep them from reading it. For women are made of such combustible stuff, that should they once glance upon the bewitching lines just quoted, and at the same time reflect, as they have doubtless been already informed, that a certain black strumpet, yclep'd Sally, enjoys the love and the embraces of a man of your amiable disposition and sentimental tongue, (for girls who have read a great many novels, you know, are always charmed with *sentiment ;*) they would burst forth into such a flame of envy as to endanger their own existence, and consequently might render useless "the energies of our nation" which, as your excellency once observed with a great deal of *aptitude*, the bravery of Lieutenant Sterret and his gallant seamen "would be a testimony to the world, that it was our *conscientious* desire to direct to the multiplication of the human race."

I must think, however, that these lines would have been still *more* charming, if you had seasoned them with a little spice of sincerity, At least, they would have been more honourable to yourself, and better suited to the solemnity of the occasion. As it is, grave sir, they are a high-wrought insult upon the discernment and common sense of the nation.

You complain to the New-Haven merchants, that "declarations by myself in favour of *political intolerance*, exhortations to *harmony* and affection in social intercourse, and to respect for the *equal rights* of the minority have on certain occasions, been quoted and *mis*-construed into assurances, that the tenure of offices was not to be disturbed. But, you ask, "*could*

candor apply such a construction ?" O ! thou hypocrite. Dost *thou* talk of candor! tell us, meek sophist, what are thine ideas of candor. Open thy philosophical dictionary, and give us the definition at large, that we may not hereafter puzzle our "puppy brains to comprehend" thee, when it pleaseth thy serene babyhood to prattle about candor.

> Candor ! why the veriest wretch that sucks
> The common beverage of nature, would,
> As the cooling draught goes down, and moists
> His parched throat, and thankfulness is by,
> And whispers, CANDOR, in his ear ; confess,
> "I am a villain."

If candor means cunning, trick, shift, evasion, equivocation, subterfuge, quibble or insincerity—if it is consistent with making promises with an intention to violate them, or no determination to fulfil them—if, upon the most solemn occasions, when an empire of freemen bends with lowly reverence and trembling anxiety to learn the motives, the opinions, principles of action and the views of their newly-elected ruler; that ruler can undertake to lull their fears and prepossess their judgment by the soothing language of flattery and fair-faced promises—if, in terms as explicit as language affords, he can thus solemnly, recite his "*creed* of political *faith*," "his text of civic instruction" and declare that, "they should be the *touchstone* by which to try the services of those we trust"—if he can pledge his veracity that his "future solicitude will be to conciliate the good opinion" of his adversaries, "by doing them all the good in his power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of *all*;" and *afterwards*, within a few short months, he can either expressly renounce these sentiments, and disown these promises, or adopt a practice in direct opposition to them, and attempt

even to *justify* that practice on the score of retaliation*—if, instead of endeavoring to conciliate the good opinion of "others," he improves every opportunity to oppose their wishes, to insult them, to treat them as ideots or infants, and to express his contempt for their understandings, by answering their reasonable and respectful remonstrances with a pompous display of logical nonsense and angry recriminations—if instead of doing them "all the good in his power" he can do them all the harm—if instead of consulting their happiness, he can deprive them of the means of subsistence, and disregard or exult in their misery; and if all this can be reconciled with *candor*, then you may ask, *could candor apply this construction?* and the whole American nation shall *tender you the homage of their sincere respect*, and vociferate no; no! till the shores of Zembla shall *echo* peace; peace!

But if candor implies openness, fairness, uprightness, frankness, plainness, or sincerity—if it requires a strict adherence to truth in all our declarations—if it is incompatible with every species and every degree of mental reservation, with every intentional fraud, or with the knowledge of any circumstance which may occasion a failure in the performance of our promises—if it requires an exact conformity of our assertions and our professions with our belief and intentions; then, in the name of all that is rational, let us hear *you* talk no more of candor.

But, Mr. Jefferson, you are called a philosopher. Philosopher! that means a wise man. O, now do tell us, Sir Philosophy, in the name of all that's bewitching; tell us, in the name of your *chaste* and *fair* Dulcinea del Toboso; do you believe there is, or ought to be any connection, or relation whatever, be-

* See Reply to the New-Haven Remonstrance.

tween words and ideas? do you *candidly* believe that language has, or ever had, any meaning at all? or does the signification of your words depend, like that of musical notes, upon their place in the stave? Tell us one thing more, Sir, and I'll not *torture* you any more with these saucy questions. Does your philosophy include sincerity in its catalogue of *virtues* or in that of *inconveniences?* Stop, stop; I'm wrong. I forgot that you was privileged beyond the rank of ordinary men. I forgot that you had a right to say whatever you please, without being called in question as to the *meaning* of your words; or the *sincerity* of your professions. Well we are all sinful creatures, I find. I too have sinned. But I crave the *homage* of your pardon. Let us correct the *procedure*, and hasten to return from this long digression.

Societies cannot exist without government; government cannot operate without its functionaries. The framers of our constitution have in their wisdom prescribed the mode in which the functionaries shall be created: *by the suffrages of the people, freely* and *independently expressed.* To expect unanimity in our choice, would be futile. To require it, would be, in almost every case, to stay the operation of government. That the suffrages of a majority should be sufficient to create a functionary, they were, therefore, constrained to admit. This rule, though it is not ordained by distributive justice, was suggested and imposed by necessity; by that necessity which is created by the want of one part of an alternative. It is a rule which every representative government *must* adopt. It is acknowledged by our constitution, and therefore, as rational men, and peaceable citizens, we are all, I hope, freely disposed to submit to it. But does the right to govern, which our constitution attaches to the majority, absorb or abolish every

right and privilege of those whose honest independence, whose unpliant integrity has cast them into the minority ?

This principle is neither imposed by necessity, nor warranted by justice. It is not acknowledged by our constitution. Common-sense disowns it, and humanity has often bled under its operation. The right of free suffrage attaches itself to every man under our government from the moment he has been qualified by its laws. This may be forfeited by crime, but cannot be wrested from him by power. Such violence would be an obvious infraction of the constitution : and will you dare to affirm that after the constitution is violated, the rights of our citizens can remain unimpaired ? That justice, which is, or ought to be the vital object of every government, can still be exhibited without a wound ? No ; you dare not. Omitting the restraints of common honesty which you have long since laid aside, you know too well the spirit of the American people to hazard your idol popularity by the enunciation of such a preposterous idea. Yet wherein consists the mighty difference between *speaking* a thought and *acting* it ? In this verily, *words* are uttered by the guggling of the mouth, and *actions* originate in the saucy sincerity of the heart. I do not ask what is the difference between professions and actions. For this I would point the world to Thomas Jefferson. To his *declarations*, made in the presence of high Heaven, in a solemn place, and at a solemn hour, when a man, selected from among five millions of people, was clothed with the highest honors which they could bestow ;—and his *conduct* from that hour to this. The difference needs no explanation. It has been exemplified by arguments dealt home to our hearts—it has been traced out by the steps of ingratitude, cruelty and folly.

If then the right of free suffrage belongs, and is thus derived to Americans, can you, with unquivering nerves, sit down to sign a warrant for the punishment of those who, in the integrity of their hearts, have exercised it? yet this you have done, and done repeatedly. Nay more. With that undistinguishing vengeance which is the peculiar characteristic of tyranny; you have fixed marks of disgrace as far as your power extended, upon those who never *did* exercise it, and who in the instance of your election, *could* not. These last were so unfortunate as to come within the limits of your *proscription*. Their political opinions; Heaven save the mark! were not cast in the same mould with yours, and upon the presumption, therefore, that they had opposed, or at least, had not assisted in your elevation; you resolved in the plenitude of your weakness, "to persecute them for conscience sake." You determined that *they* should "feel power," though *you* should "forget right." Now, Sir, what must be the sensations of a man endowed with frugal generosity and moderate sensibility, who sees himself stript, by the hand of ungrateful power, of that reward which his country, under the impulse of gratitude, had bestowed to soothe him for the perils he encountered, and the sufferings he endured in her struggle for liberty? He sits himself down, surrounded by his amiable, but destitute family; and resigns himself to the imperious controul of his feelings. He asks, with the mortification of injured merit, and the dignity of conscious virtue, "What have I done to deserve this?" when my country was insulted and menaced, I glowed with indignation—when she was injured, her remonstrances slighted, and her rights trampled upon; and when she called for vengeance, I obeyed her call. I flew to her standard of defence, and fought

beside her heroes. When the hostile legions pressed hard upon us, and dealt slaughter around me, when my companions and friends were groaning and expiring beneath my feet, I thought of my country's wrongs, and stood firm. "Logan never felt fear. "He never *turned on his heel to save his life.*" "*In the hour of danger, he never quit his post.* Often, after a severe and bloody battle, have I marched, half naked—cold and hungry and exhausted with fatigue, through trackless desarts and miry fens, full many a weary mile—through snows waist-high, or on the crusted drift, shoeless and bleeding. Often have I reposed on the frost-bound earth, with no covering but a winter's sky—yet my repose was sweet—I was prepared for it by labours in my country's cause. How long have I lain in my tent disfigured with wounds, and tortured with anguish!—Yet I complained not—I received them from the enemies of my country. I was treated with confidence by my superiors, and with respect by all my fellow-soldiers. During seven trying campaigns, I was never cheered by the sight of my family, nor of the home which was endeared to me by a recollection of the scenes of my youth. The moment now came—the anxious, awful moment, which was to decide, by a battle, the fate of my country. We fought, we conquered—my country triumphed and was free—she was avenged of her wrongs—her independence was acknowledged—her government organized, and the time had come to recompence her avengers."

"What recompence had she to bestow, poor herself, and still reeking in her blood? all that I desired was—her gratitude. She *was* grateful, and I *was* rewarded. Sweet and full was my reward—sweeter, because received from Washington. Washington! all that's great and good and wise! thou ill-requited benefac-

tor! thou slandered, injured Patriot! thee I loved as a father, and revered as the saviour and steady friend of thy country. Often have I been cheered by thy friendship, and honoured with thy confidence. But thou art gone! and when, ah! when shall we see thine equal. Thou didst not live to see thy companions in arms plundered of the gifts which thou bestowed! Thou didst not live to see them treated with injustice; with indignity. Would thou hadst! It would be more than amends for my disgrace to see *thy* indignation mingle with that of thousands of our dear fellow-soldiers,-who at this moment think and feel as I do. Yes; thou friend and distinguisher of worth; those who fought and bled by thy side, who shared thy toils, thy dangers, thy triumphs and thy *favour*, are cut off from the means of subsistence, and shut out from the honors of their country! that country which they snatched from the jaws of tyranny, and which they have *ever* served with as much fidelity as promptness. And by whom? By that country herself? Is SHE ungrateful? Has SHE forgot the hardships of her sons? No, never; it cannot be. Is it by one who shared our fatigues, our cold, our hunger, or our perils? No. Or one who *sympathized* in our sufferings? No, no; he *knew* them not. Is it by one of our countrymen? One who drew his first breath from the air of America? Yes; 'tis even so! by one who at this moment feasts upon the *fruits* of our blood, and the *life*-blood of thousands who fell a sacrifice to freedom! By Heavens! 'tis rank ingratitude. Ingratitude! thou cruel rankling dagger! Tear my quick-beating heart from its seat; sever my limbs on the rack, or mock me on the gibbet; but save me, Oh! save me from ingratitude!"

Is such a man, and many such there are, who have felt the *tyranny* of your *justice;* entitled to no regard? Are his services and his sufferings of no value in your estimation? Can you, without the plea of necessity, or sound policy, deprive your country of the benefits of his experience, his talents, and his long-tried fidelity? Can you exchange him for a man, whose character was born but yesterday; whom you know not, but from the report of his *friends*, and whom the people know not at all; who has never been tried with the temptations of power, and who has given no proof of his talents, his prudence, his integrity, his knowledge of the duties to which he is called, of the interests of those over whom he is to act, or even of his solicitude to promote their interests? Who, above all, *cannot* possess that knowledge, that correctness and dispatch, that facility of doing business, which are the result of long experience, and cannot be attained without it? If you can thus sport with the power entrusted in your hands, if you can thus sacrifice the interests and happiness of your countrymen, for the purpose of gratifying the worst passions of your corrupt minions, among whom, foreigners, who deserve public execration, are the most favored; every one in the community, who does not expect to profit by this sacrifice of every thing dear to the hopes and wishes of a patriot, will, without hesitation, brand you as a *weak* man; whom party prejudice and lust for popularity might easily make a deliberate and finished *knave.* The absurdities into which you have been led in your attempts to justify your removals from office, are alone sufficient proof that the removals cannot be justified. In your reply to the New-Haven remonstrance, you give in a general plea, upon which, you are not ashamed to acknowledge, you rest the jutification of all your dis-

placements. This plea, in every respect, is, of all others, the worst you could have hit upon. A man, whose heart is depraved like yours, cannot commit a more fatal blunder than to confess the *real* motives of his conduct. Considering the duplicity of your character, I cannot comprehend how you could be guilty of such a childish indiscretion. Some *fictitious* motive, even if it had been more reprehensible, would have been much more convenient. When censured for it, you might deny it; and assign another equally false. This, when driven to extremities, you might deny also, and assign another of the same description. Thus by playing betwixt the assertion and denial of falsehoods, you might for a long time, amuse, if not finally, escape your pursuers; and you would, all along, have the satisfaction of reflecting that you did not deserve the censure cast upon you.

This "procedure" would be vastly commodious to a man of your conscientious principles, for, in this way, you might share in the privilege of virtue, and, by charging slander upon your adversaries, you might foil them with their own weapons. But now "*oppressed humanity*" can "find no asylum in this globe." Because "when it is considered, that during the late administration, those, who were not of a particular sect of politics, were excluded from all office; when by a *steady* pursuit of this measure, nearly the *whole* offices of the United States were monopolized by that sect" &c. we have you on this side of the hedge. Nay, nay; there's no pig-hole here. You cannot squeeze out. Stand up, man! let's look at you. Now do you not perceive that by those very words, which, you was silly enough to imagine, would justify your own conduct, by casting the opprobrium upon your predecessor; you have, by an implication as strong as a confession of your guilt, condemned

yourself ? Do you not perceive that all the censure which you intended by them, to throw upon *his* administration, must fall, with the additional weight of the malice which prompted them, upon your own head ! Did you not intend by them to charge your predecessor with "political intollerance ?" and since you have made his conduct the measure of your own, do you not perceive that you must both stand, or fall together ? I will admit, for a moment, that Mr. Adams was guided, in his appointments, by party-considerations *alone ;* that merit *never* was the object of his choice ; that he filled the vacant offices with men of his own "political sect" to the *total* exclusion of yours. Still, Sir, have you not censured his conduct, in this very respect, as unjust ? Has not every democratic paper, from St. Mary's to Penobscot, complained, and pouted and snivelled and wept, through downright resentment for the *indignity* with which he treated your party ? yet you are weak enough to assign this very conduct as a motive in which your own originated ! If Mr. Adams had done wrong, you ought, as a prudent man, to have profited by his errors ; and not to have pled his injustice as an apology for your own. If he consulted his own pleasure, rather than the happiness of the people, you ought to have proved, by a contrary conduct, what you have so often told us, that the happiness of the people was your sole object. If he was so illiberal, so little-minded, so listless of his country's welfare, as to exclude from his favour all who dared to avow political sentiments different from his own ; you ought to have broken through the restraints of such unworthy prejudices, and by pursuing a system unconnected with the narrow views of favoritism, to have shewn that you could respect and reward merit wherever it was found. Such *actions* would entitle you to the

character of a patriot. But *promises* and *professions* and *declarations* and *exhortations*, of the like import, while they are contradicted by your actions, serve only to betray your hypocrisy. Nothing, sir, can more fully evince your renunciation of every moral obligation, and your violation of the plainest dictates of reason than for you perseveringly to imitate an example which you have thus publicly condemned, and to plead what you have censured as criminal in another, in extenuation of your own misconduct. If the policy by which, you say, Mr. Adams regulated his public measures, and which led him to *appoint* officers for a conformity in political sentiments, was wrong ; it is very clear that the policy by which you acknowledge yourself to have been governed, and which led you to *displace* them for the want of such conformity, is equally wrong. Had you not been puzzled to find an apology for your *ousting* system, your sagacity would certainly have seen that the same principle was acted upon in both cases.

How shameful then is the specimen which you have given us of your logic as well as of your morality ! It is idle to talk about your respect for the equal *rights* of parties, and your determination to restore your own sect to a " *due* participation" of offices from which they have been unjustly excluded. None but a Papist, or a Tyrant would have the hardihood to tell a nation that their wishes and their interests must give way to the gratification of party rancour, or party ambition ; that they must submit to be governed by men appointed, not for their honesty, their talents or their experience, not for their friendship to the people, not for their desire to promote the public weal ; but because their political adversaries had " monopolized nearly the whole offices of the United States," and now when " the doors of honor and confidence are burst open" by a declaration of " the public sentiment" in favor—of these men ? No. But in favor of Thomas Jefferson ; the time has come to restore to them their " *long lost liberties.*"

Are you apprised, sir, of the inference which will be drawn from this language? The people must necessarily conclude that you consider the government as instituted, not for *their* benefit, but for the benefit of its own officers: and indeed your conduct since you came into power goes to favor the conclusion. No man has any *right* whatever to office. If he receives one, he must receive it as a trust, not as a debt. He must consider it as a loan from the people, not as his own property.

Pray, sir, what are the constitutional duties of the president of the United States? Have you so much misunderstood them as imagine that you was elected to become the avenger of one half of the community upon the other? Have we endured, for more than seven years, an arduous conflict; have we expended millions of money, and lost thousands of lives, to obtain the liberty of being cheated out of our senses? The liberty of choosing officers, who, while they are gratifying their own private resentments, have the impudence to look us in the face and tell us they are pursuing the true interests of the country? Shall these officers tell us, further, that they are *justified* in their violation of justice, their outrage upon humanity, their contempt of our rights, and their exultation in our wrongs, *by the example of their predecessors?* When England endeavoured to soothe us into compliance before we had recourse to arms, did we stand firm against her studied persuasions, did we defeat all her stratagems, and disbelieve her fair but false promises? have we successfully resisted the disorganizing attempts and the ambitious views of the French directory, that ten-handed giant of iniquity, that monster of ingratitude, duplicity and despotim, that author of all that's horrible in conception, blasphemous in expression, treacherous in execution, and agonizing in misery; whose intrigue was more refined than that of the Arch Prince of Temptation, whose low-minded cunning assumed a thousand shapes to steal upon our vigilance, resorted to every

subterfuge to cover its own baseness, and accommodated itself to every possible exigence to prevent a defeat of its nefarious purposes? in spite of all their arts have we hitherto continued unmoved! preserved our independence and honor, and retained the exercise of our reason?—And shall we now be imposed upon, tricked and deceived, injured and insulted by a would-be-philosopher? a corrupt statesman, a contemner of religion; as a man, trifling and passionate; as a citizen, immoral; as a politician, hypocritical and treacherous, full of promises and professions, but void of sincerity; as a friend false-hearted, ungrateful and designing; as a ruler, unjust and tyrannical; as a partizan slavish, revengeful, malicious and persecuting; as a philosopher vain, futile, and theoretical; as a scholar ostentatious and pedantic; as a writer pompous, ambiguous and sententious: by a man who from his services, has no claim upon our gratitude and whose private character we cannot respect; who after sporting with our rights, insults our understandings by offering us a *chaos* of exculpatory reasons with which none but slaves and sycophants would *affect* to be satisfied, and none but ideots and children *could* be? O credulity! where is thy shame? O deceit! where is thy remorse? "I cannot conceive" says Mr. Burke, "how any man can bring himself to such a pitch of depravity as to consider his country as a *charte-blanc* upon which he is at liberty to write whatever he pleases."

You seem, Sir, to view the office of President very much as Cortez and Pizarro viewed the treasures of Peru and Chili; and to regard your predecessors as those infamous robbers regarded the unfortunate Montezuma. The men who have squabbled with most success to place you in office; you affect to believe have a *right* to divide the spoils among them, and the men whom your intrigues and bribes have displaced, you seem to think deserve some punishment perhaps as severe as that inflicted on the vanquished Indian king.

Do you, Mr. Jefferson, acknowledge no restraint upon your conduct? Have you no guide to your actions, but a wild and impetuous will? Have you no judgment, no reason, no candour, no generosity? Have you resigned yourself entirely to the direction of your passions? Indeed it would seem so: and, as it always happens to such a man, it would also seem, that the worst passions, revenge, envy and malice, have prevailed over the best.

Passing over the duties imposed upon us as the very design and ultimate cause of our creation, lest some sturdy *philosopher*, who may chance to read this, should deny, as others have done, that we were created at all, or, if at all, for any definite or definable purpose; I ask, and would to Heaven! you and a thousand others would answer with candor to your own breasts; what is the purpose for which mankind are organized into society? I ask the question with seriousness, and as much anxiety as I should if I expected an answer. Was our association originally a voluntary act? Or was it an act of uncontroulable irresistible necessity, where motives could not operate? If it was an act of such necessity, most clearly we are exempt from every species of responsibility except those which were imposed by that necessity itself; and I think that not even you, or Rosseau, that romantic sophist, from whose fantastic systems you appear to have been furnished with your own, will be so childish as to support the doctrine of responsibility without granting the *necessity* of there being some *superior* to whom we are responsible. Who, and what then is this Superior? What are his attributes? Is it that being whom *we* worship under the appellation of GOD? If it is he, or whoever it may be, to him do our duties belong, and to him are we amenable for their violation. On the other hand, if it was a voluntary act, what was the motive which swayed us? What argument decided our choice? Was it that, knowing the weakness and the wants of *insulated*

man, we might, by our union, furnish, to the ambitious and the factious, power and opportunity to adorn their temples with laurels emboweled from the humble and the peaceable? Was it that we might multiply and augment the means for the riotous to disturb us; for the proud to triumph over us, the petulant to insult us, the mean and the unfeeling to mock us after the equally mean and the powerful had disgraced us? Was it to ensure impunity to the strong and the overbearing for having trampled on the weak and the submissive? Was it to build coverts for impudence, wretchedness and vice where they might veil themselves from justice, after having gone forth and plundered? After having plucked, with ghastly joy, every jewel from the crown of virtue and every prop from beneath her footstool? Was it, briefly, to marshal the whole host of turbulent and hostile passions against every thing lovely, against every thing honorable or sacred? The policy by which you are governed it requires no supernatural penetration to perceive. Whether there was, or was not, ever any such thing as a social compact entered into by actual convention, or submitted to by tacit consent, a point much disputed by civilians; in my opinion, it is as evident as the noon-day sun that the policy which you are pursuing is at variance at least with the *present* principles of our social existence. Policy, according to the acceptation of the word by the disciples of the new-fangled philosophy, is synonomous with cunning; and, though perhaps you are not aware of it, that which you have adopted, or at least practised upon, is very similar to the policy which Godwin attempts to justify in his treatise upon what he calls "Political Justice." It is a degenerous *passion* whose essence is selfishness—whose characteristic traits are impudence and insensibility—whose motives all centre in selt aggrandizement, and which pursues its object without ever losing its aim, and regardless of consequences. To this passion, (it cannot be called a principle,) are we

indebted for all the modern practice upon that maxim of wholesale destruction, viz. "the end sanctifies the means." The welfare of millions is of no value, in its estimation, when it comes in competition with the ease or vanity of dear-*self*. It would make a distinction, and an opposition between moral and political justice; as if the cobweb theories of ambitious and vain men could alter the decrees of the eternal Jehovah. How different is this policy from that which would be pursued by a wise man or a real patriot. Such a man selects the best means to accomplish the best ends, or in other words, he seeks the greatest good in the best way; and if the means are unjustifiable, he relinquishes the pursuit rather than be guilty of a wrong. He never pursues self-interest as an object detached from all others—he regards it only as constituting a part of that mass of interest which is attached to the whole community, and to promote and secure which all his efforts are directed. His views are liberal and comprehensive—whatever contributes to the honor of his *whole* country, or its internal happiness is an object which he pursues with perseverance and cordial solicitude. His *policy* is equally distant from the narrow and ignoble views of selfishness, and that Cosmopolitical quackery of universal benevolence, which by attempting to expand our affections beyond the limits of human attachment, would bewilder our conception in a confused assemblage of ideal perfectibilities, and force us to overlook those objects which lie within the reach of our kindness, and which alone can in reality attract it. He squares all his measures by the good of his country—he regards himself as *one* only among millions of his equals—he regards his country as one, composed of millions of his equals, which collectively has no equal. But, Sir, you have not the slightest claim to the character either of a wise or a good man. You have devised a more expeditious way to arrive at popular favor, the great idol of your heart; and you leave the affairs of conscience to be settled by your

executors. You will, however, finally learn, I trust, that, though the way you have chosen may be the most expeditious to *obtain* popularity, it is not the surest way to *preserve* it. By your conduct in private life, you have involved your friends in the unhappy dilemma of being forced, either to renounce you publicly, or to suffer themselves to be considered as the advocates of moral depravity. By your public measures, you have compelled them either to acknowledge the wickedness of your motives, the imbecility of your judgement, the narrowness of your mind, and the folly and injustice of your conduct; or to attempt to reconcile the plainest contradictions, and to defend what any decent man would despise and abhor in another, and blush to acknowledge in himself. At the next term of election, the time will have come, Sir, when the people of this country must decide, not between the equal merits of rival candidates, but between ability and weakness, honesty and corruption, candor and duplicity, respect for private and public opinion, and contempt of both.

That they will make a wise decision, there is reason to hope from the information which they have received relative to the conduct of those who so lately were their favourites, and who have so frequently and so loudly proclaimed themselves their friends by offering them *the homage of their sincerest respect;* but who have proved to be their secret, and therefore their most dangerous enemies.

I shall now conclude with a few words by way of explanation to the people who alone have a right to demand, and whom I hold myself bound to answer.

There are two descriptions of men who will be offended with this address. The one comprehends those who are not fully acquainted with your conduct; the other includes those who are *enlisted* to defend it. The first may sincerely think, and the last will no doubt affect to think the language I have used, too disrespectful. The last, no explanation, no arguments, no reasons will satisfy. I therefore leave them as what I have already said may find them.

To the first, I would say, uninfluenced by party considerations, that when the Chief Magistrate of a country, instead of being governed by liberal and impartial motives, debases himself by indulging party prejudices; when instead of being the common friend of the whole people, he is not ashamed to avow himself the leader of a "political sect;" when, instead of pursuing, with undivided aim, the good of his country, he pretends to believe he has a right; nay, that it is his bounden duty to avenge the *insults*, and to gratify the ambition, and the resentments of his own "sect" at the expence of the rest of the community, and in plain violation of the Constitution which the people had erected as a defence of their liberties against the encroachments of human passions, and which he himself had solemnly sworn, in the name and presence of his discredited Maker, to support and administer as he then found it until it should be altered in the manner prescribed by law; when to the rational and respectful remonstrances of his fellow-citizens, he answers with futile arguments and passionate reproaches; and when in the true style of coward, he has given bribes to another to write and publish what he dared not utter himself, and to slander the reputation of men for whom, like a slavish hypocrite, he was forced, in public, to profess his esteem; when he so far forgets the respect due to private virtue and the character of a man; to say nothing of the laws of God; as to live in the habits of open and shameless prostitution with one of his own slaves; such a man, I say, deserves not that the dignity of his station should screen him from insult.

Disrespectful language can never disgrace a man or a Magistrate. His own conduct is the only pillar of his reputation, and the only destroyer of it.

My *motives* for writing this letter exist in a solicitude for the welfare of this country; and

"*Ask you the* provocation *which I had?*"
"*The strong antipathy of good to bad.*"

FINIS.